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## FOUNDATIONS

One of the objectives of the Lamar Society is to provide its members and its state and local chapters with assistance in funding worthwhile projects related to the socio-economic development of the South. Towards this end we are publishing a list of foundations who have either supported projects of this type in the South or have expressed an interest in such projects.

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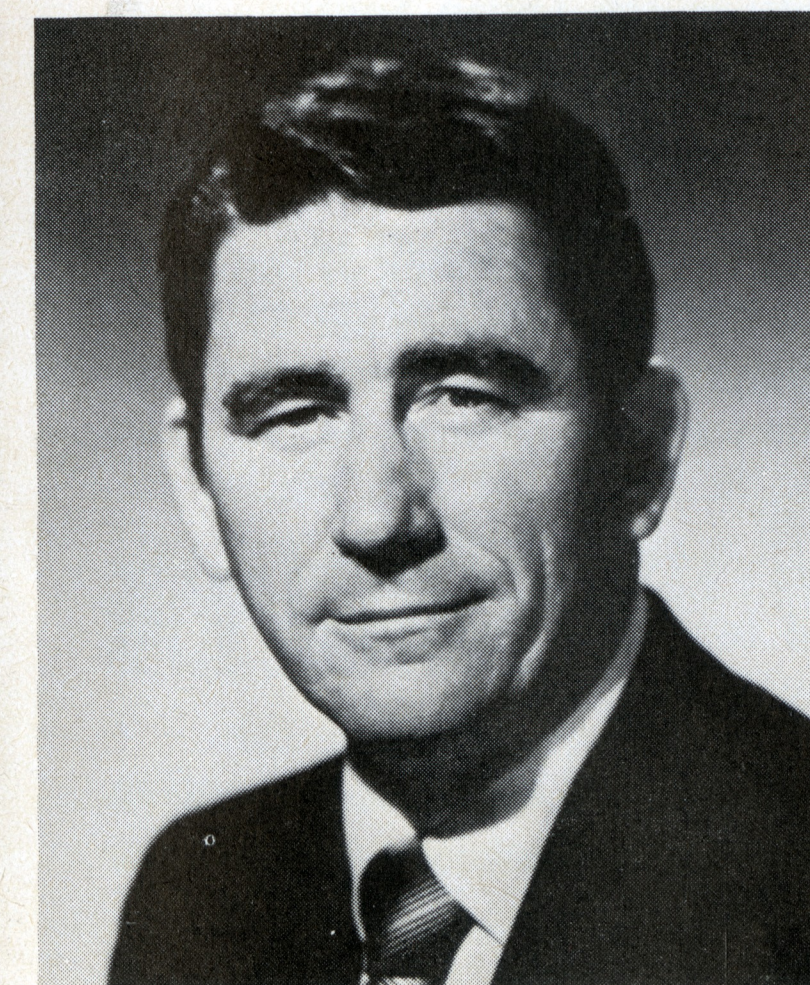
Askew of Florida



Bumpers of Arkansas



Carter of Georgia



Dunn of Tennessee



Holton of Virginia



West of South Carolina



Rockefeller of Arkansas

# Southern Journal

APRIL, 1971 Published by The L.Q.C. Lamar Society

In This Issue:

The Urban South: Northern Mistakes in a Southern Setting? • The Changing South • The Law and The Public Interest • Higher Politics in Texas • The Textile Industry in The South: Free Trade or Protectionism? • Virginia's New Look Governor.



# THE URBAN SOUTH

## Northern Mistakes in a Southern Setting ?

**Second Annual Lamar Society Symposium**

**April 30 — May 1, 1971**

**Sheraton - Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia**

The second annual symposium of the L.Q.C. Lamar Society will be held at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta on April 30 through May 1. The theme of the conference will be "The Urban South: Northern Mistakes in a Southern Setting?"

Co-sponsored with Emory University and Morehouse College, the symposium will begin at 12 noon on Friday, April 30 and conclude with a reception late in the afternoon on Saturday, May 1. H. Brandt Ayers, editor and publisher of the *Anniston Star*, is the general chairman of the event. Dr. James Clotfelder of the Department of Political Science at Emory University in Atlanta is in charge of local arrangements.

The annual membership meeting of the Lamar Society will be held in conjunction with the symposium.

Featured at the meeting will be Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, who will be the dinner speaker on the night of April 30; Terry Sanford, former governor of North Carolina and now president of Duke University, at 1:30 p.m. on April 30; H. Ross Perot, chairman of Electronic Data Systems, Dallas, Texas, at noon on May 1; and a group of new Southern governors in a panel discussion on the afternoon of April 30.

Three panel discussions are scheduled:

### Cities Designed for People

**Speaker:** John Osman, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

**Panel:** Dr. M. I. Foster, Director, Division of Development and Regional Studies, Tennessee Valley Authority

Charles W. Graves, Director, Division of State Planning and Community Affairs, Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Jonathan Howes, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, University of North Carolina

John Opitz, Director, Ozarks Regional Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas

**Panel:** Richard Pettigrew, Speaker, Florida House of Representatives

Andrew Young, Atlanta, Georgia

### Practical Implementation of the Humane City

**Chairman:** Joel Fleishman, Vice Chancellor, Duke University

**Speaker:** Richard Lee, Former Mayor of New Haven

**Panel:** Mayor Russell Davis, Jackson, Mississippi

George H. Deyo, Assistant Mayor, Anniston, Alabama

Maynard Jackson, Vice Mayor, Atlanta, Georgia

Mayor Howard Lee, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

H. Foster Pettit, Candidate for Mayor, Lexington, Kentucky (Former State Legislator)

Mayor R. Cooper White, Greenville, South Carolina

### The Role of the Lamar Society in the Urban South

**Chairman:** Dr. David Mathews, President, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

**Lodging:** The Lamar Society has reserved a block of rooms at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta. Singles are \$19 and doubles are \$24. You should make your own reservations.

### Registration Fees:

Members - \$50

Non-members - \$75 (\$25 of this fee may be applied towards a membership in the Society)

The registration fee includes the cost of all meals (3), coffee breaks and receptions(2).

# THE CHANGING SOUTH

The South is changing—economically, socially and politically. The nature of this change is reflected, to a great extent, by the rhetoric of the men who have been elected in recent years to chart the future direction of their states. Following are excerpts from inaugural addresses of various Southern governors.

### Governor Reubin O'Donovan Askew - Florida

"The responsibilities before us are many - far too numerous to discuss each in detail here today. And we recognize that in meeting those responsibilities, in exercising the authority of the Chief Executive of this state, that we will make errors. But we are pledging to you today that our errors will *not* be those of unconcern. They will *not* be errors of inaction.

Inherent in our commitment to action is a belief that state governments can no longer wait for the federal government to solve our problems. It is now obvious that the inadequacies of our society are matters properly dealt with by government. But it has become equally obvious that the solutions are not to be found in Washington. If there is anything which has become certain in the last decade, it is that even the most well-intentioned federal program is too many miles and too many administrators away from implementation....

The task before us at this time in our history is much greater than to simply restore confidence in our government. That we must do. But the greater task is to restore faith in ourselves....

It has been said that government cannot solve all of society's problems. In that, I could not agree more. But political leadership can provide a commitment to progress and it can, by its own success, restore confidence in what can be done by individuals....

None of the responsibilities before us today will be carried out by words or platitudes. It is not enough merely to acknowledge the problems of our senior citizens -- or to give pious lip service to the justifiably urgent needs of our black citizens -- or to be aware of the miserable living conditions of many of the migrant workers who help bring our crops to market. The commitment to make government work will not be meaningful without the courage to face squarely and honestly the difficult issues before us. And, as we outline the goals of this administration, it should be clearly understood that we are not blind to the controversy and difference of opinion which may result. We are not blind to the fact that all will not agree with the course we are setting. But we see the responsibility of this administration to provide the leadership and the direction for this state and its people...."

### Governor Dale Bumpers - Arkansas

"At this time of beginning, we must dedicate ourselves to fulfilling the promise of the moment. We must resolve that the exhilaration of the present does not become the disappointment of the future. We must not waste the new awakening of our people that has taken place during the last few months. That new awareness makes it all the more important that this administration be responsive to the people so their voices will be heard and their needs met.

We are now together in a unity that can be our main strength. Even in the days ahead, when some of us will disagree, we should remember those things we share. We cherish the

ideals we have received from our parents. We dream of our hopes for the future....

I stand here as proof that the system works.

I stand here as proof that those of us who think of ourselves as average, ordinary men even without the assets of fame or fortune, can be successful.

Arkansas is a State that has not always had its place in the sun. Too often we think of ourselves in categories such as, '49th in this, 50th in that.' If we think that way long enough, we will become accustomed to that status and accept it. It will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. We are what we think we are.

This is not to deny what we all know. We have problems. But a problem can be a burden or an opportunity. As I said before, it's all in the way you look at things. This administration will see the problems as challenges. We will have to work hard--all of us--but we have the resources to meet our needs including the invaluable resources of our people's determination and creativity, their indomitable spirit, and desire for a better life....

The people of Arkansas are looking for new approaches, new attitudes, and new initiatives. To help in this search our administration will be one of open minds and open doors. The future we envision must be shaped and shared by all Arkansans: old and young, black and white, rich and poor. I appeal to the best in our people to meet this challenge.

I believe that the collective thought of our people is that we are capable of mastering our own fate in a manner befitting the highest humanistic principles. This administration will be one of concern, compassion and reality. Our mandate is to correct or eliminate those things which are wrong and build on those things which are right.

Together, we can do better.

### Governor Jimmy Carter - Georgia

"This is a time for truth and frankness. The next four years will not be easy ones. The problems we face will not solve themselves. They demand from us the utmost in dedication and unselfishness from each of us. But this is also a time for greatness. Our people are determined to overcome the handicaps of the past and to meet the opportunities of the future with confidence and with courage.

Our people are our most precious possession and we cannot afford to waste the talents and abilities given by God to one single Georgian. Every adult illiterate, every school dropout, every untrained retarded child is an indictment of us all. Our state pays a terrible and continuing human and financial price for these failures. It is time to end this waste. If Switzerland and Israel and other people can eliminate illiteracy, then so can we. The responsibility is our own, and as Governor, I will not shirk this responsibility.

At the end of a long campaign, I believe I know our people as well as anyone. Based on this knowledge of



Georgians North and South, Rural and Urban, liberal and conservative, I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimination is over. Our people have already made this major and difficult decision, but we cannot underestimate the challenge of hundreds of minor decisions yet to be made. Our inherent human charity and our religious beliefs will be taxed to the limit. No poor, rural, weak, or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice. We Georgians are fully capable of making our own judgments and managing our own affairs. We who are strong or in positions of leadership must realize that the responsibility for making correct decisions in the future is ours. As Governor, I will never shirk this responsibility...."

#### Governor Winfield Dunn - Tennessee

"I recognize and accept my responsibilities to provide the leadership that will chart a successful and progressive course for our ship of state....I pledge to you an active administration. My presence as your governor will be felt, not only on capitol hill, but in the court houses, in the schools, the prisons, and other institutions of this state where I may be privileged to go in order to listen, to learn, and to communicate with my fellow Tennesseans. I will take this government of the people to the people.

I hope to inaugurate with this ceremony today, not a simple exchange of power from one man to another or from one political party to another, but a new era of citizen participation in the affairs of government in Tennessee.

If this process of involvement is begun, then we will create a new day for government in our state. We have an arsenal with which to attack our problems - new, fresh talent -- minds free of chains of habit and custom - minds which are eager to deal directly with problems, minds which will not be willing to leave them for someone else or for some other time.

I will labor to make certain the conscientious citizen knows his energies and abilities are needed by his government, that his ideas are valued, that his opinion is worthy of consideration, that his involvement in public service -- at any level -- can truly make a difference...

Let us strike a spark of enthusiasm which will rekindle the volunteer spirit of Tennessee through citizens' participation in government. Today, I dedicate all my energies and abilities to you and to our state. At the same time, I urge you to take an active part in our government. Support me when you can, oppose me if you must, but above all, participate...."

#### Governor Linwood Holton - Virginia

"The common belief is that state government must act, that the future of states' rights rests upon the success of state efforts. No more must the slogan of 'states' rights' sound a recalcitrant and defensive note for the people of the South. For the era of defiance is behind us....,

The durability of our nation and civilization will be in the end determined by how we have responded not only to external problems but, more importantly, to our problems from within. One of the foremost of these is obviously that of racial discrimination.

Here in Virginia we must see that no citizen of the Commonwealth is excluded from full participation in both the blessings and responsibilities of our society because of his race. We will have a government based on a partnership of all Virginians, a government in which there will be neither partisanship nor prejudice of any kind.

As Virginia has been a model for so much else in America

in the past, let us now endeavor to make today's Virginia a model in race relations. Let us, as Lincoln said, insist upon an open society 'with malice toward none; charity for all.'

To succeed, this quest for an open society must involve all of us, not just the leaders of government. We earnestly ask the active participation of our business and professional leaders, the heads of our schools and universities, our labor chiefs and legislators, our local governments, leaders of minorities, and all individual citizens. Let our goal in Virginia be an aristocracy of ability, regardless of race, color or creed...."

#### Governor John C. West - South Carolina

"It is appropriate on this occasion marking the beginning of the New Century in South Carolina that we set for ourselves certain goals, goals whose urgency and priority at this moment in our history cannot be questioned. The time has arrived when South Carolina for all time must break loose and break free of the vicious cycle of ignorance, illiteracy and poverty which has retarded us throughout our history.

If to some these goals seem too lofty, impossible of achievement or unrealistic, I submit that nothing is impossible if we unite together with energy, determination and dedication toward a common cause....

We can, and we shall, in the next four years eliminate from our government any vestige of discrimination because of race, creed, sex, religion or any other barrier to fairness for all citizens.

We pledge to minority groups no special status other than full-fledged responsibility in a government that is totally color-blind.

We can, and we shall, accelerate programs of industrial and agricultural development until every citizen who is underemployed has the opportunity for full and rewarding employment and every young person has a job opportunity that is productive, meaningful and challenging....

The achievement of these goals can become a reality only if the people of this state unite and work together, putting aside differences of race, politics, generation or other. Two thousand years ago, the greatest philosopher and teacher who ever lived said, 'And if a Kingdom be divided against itself, that Kingdom cannot stand, and if a house be divided against itself that house cannot stand.' The politics of race and divisiveness have been soundly repudiated in South Carolina."

#### Former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller - Arkansas

"The facts that relate to my having been elected are - to me - an expression by the people that instead of looking backwards, we are looking forward....

Any administration must be measured by its goals and by its objectives. Let us spell them out like men. We come here committed not to discord, but to doing, not to destroying, but to discovering, not to dividing, but by dissolving old problems with new solutions....

And yet, I must say to you that something else is even more important-or should be-than...material goals. The great hope of my administration will be that it can develop in the people of Arkansas confidence in their state government. Without faith and confidence of the people, government can accomplish nothing. With it, government can accomplish most anything. I believe the people want and have this kind of faith.

I move into office recognizing that many important milestones have been reached. There is a foundation upon which a new administration can build, an administration dedicated to finding solutions for problems. It is my conviction that the majority of the people who voted for me want change."

# The Law and the Public Interest

The legal profession-long the bastion of American institutional resistance to change-is undergoing a metamorphosis that promises to be of lasting national significance.

The origins of this can be traced to the civil rights and anti-poverty movements of the 1960's, but, more typical of the 1970's, its moral underpinnings are more complex, and its constituency has been broadened to include the white middle class. Inspired by the example of Ralph Nader, and repulsed by their profession's traditional role as guardian of the vested interests, growing numbers of young lawyers are redirecting their talents and their energies toward problems of environmental despoliation, consumer deception, and other issues affecting the "public interest."

Over the past two years, a number of new legal institutions have appeared, which differ fundamentally from the traditional law firm both in their method of operation and in their conception of the lawyer's role in society. Some, of course, are closer to the traditional model than others, but all share certain common premises, to-wit: (1) that the lawyer's energies should not be confined to representation of individual clients, but rather should be directed toward broad issues which affect the general masses; (2) that the traditional notion of the lawyer as a "gun for hire", not only willing but duty-bound to represent anyone (and any corporation) who crosses his threshold, is no longer appropriate in these times of corporate lawlessness and ecological crisis; and (3) that the lawyer's skills should be extended beyond the office and the courtroom to include monitoring of private and public institutions to determine their responsiveness to the public interest.

Some of the public interest organizations which have been established in recent years are as follows:

(1) Center for the Study of Responsive Law- Organized almost two years ago by Ralph Nader, the Center has concentrated primarily on monitoring federal regulatory agencies and large private institutions. Headquartered in Washington, D. C., its annual budget of about \$275,000 comes from numerous small foundations.

(2) Center for Law and Social Policy-Founded in Washington, D. C., in August 1969, with an 18-month grant of \$375,000 from the Ford Foundation and smaller sums from the New World Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Walter E. Meyer Foundation, the Center for Law and Social Policy em-

ploys four full-time lawyers. Its staff concentrates in the areas of environmental protection, consumer affairs, and health problems of the poor.

(3) Natural Resources Defense Council - Incorporated in February, 1970, the NRDC concentrates solely on environmental issues. Its initial grant of \$100,000 came from the Ford Foundation, and its staff consists of four lawyers in New York and three in Washington, D.C.

(4) Environmental Defense Fund-Headquartered in Stony Brook, New York, and with a branch office in Washington, half of EDF's \$380,000 yearly budget comes from dues paid by some 10,000 members, and the other half comes from several foundations. Like the NRDC, EDF concentrates on environmental problems.

(5) Berlin, Roisman and Kessler - Unlike the foregoing organizations, Berlin, Roisman and Kessler was founded as a private law firm in January, 1969. It is funded entirely by client fees, but differs fundamentally from conventional firms in that it insists on representing only citizen groups with an interest in consumer, environmental, and poverty law.

So far, the public interest lawyers have produced results which are remarkable in light of their relatively small numbers. Corporate giants such as General Motors and Consolidated Edison are being stung by the astounding revelation that they have the same obligations as the ghetto dweller or the underworld inhabitant to obey the law. And governmental agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Agriculture have been rudely awakened to the fact that they are accountable to the general public, and not to the special interests over which they have jurisdiction.

The public interest movement has, despite its achievements, evoked a mixed reaction among the most thoughtful members of the legal community. Many have hailed it as a renewal of conscience and social commitment within the legal profession, and as a welcomed departure from the amoral past of American jurisprudence. Others, however, see it as a mischievous distraction from the problems of race and poverty which went unsolved in the Sixties. Edgar S. and Jean Camper Cahn, who were among the original architects of the national Legal Services Program, have recently written that

In the current romance between public interest law devotees and pollution, there is danger of a

major moral default by the legal profession. Mayor Hatcher correctly observed that the environmental issue had done what Alabama's George Wallace had not been able to do - 'distracted the attention of the nation from the pressing problems of the black and poor people of America.' Given the current unresponsiveness of the political system to ethnic minorities, the allocation of public interest law resources to majoritarian, middle-class, white concerns is contrary to the public interest.

Whether the Cahns are right depends upon how the public interest is defined. It is extremely important that the issues of pollution and consumer protection be viewed not *in vacuo*, but rather as manifestations of a much larger and more fundamental malaise -- institutional anarchy. Both private and public institutions in America have over the decades become atrophied and unresponsive to the will of the people who created them, and they are now making a mockery of the American ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Viewed in this way, the plight of the poor and the racial minorities can be traced to the same source that is threatening the environment and victimizing the consumer.

Thus, the public interest movement can be seen not as a diversion from the struggles of the Sixties but as an expansion of those struggles to include the white middle class. New coalitions are now feasible which were never thought possible before. The South, with its long tradition of distrust toward large institutions and with its justified pride in the beauty of its natural environment, is possibly more open to these possibilities than any other region. Moreover, the antiquated political institutions of the South have borne oppressively upon all races and economic classes, though with more cruelty on the black and the poor. Yet, the public interest movement has to date made fewer inroads in the South than anywhere else.

It is against this background that the L.Q.C. Lamar Society has decided to assist the formation of public interest law institutions in the South. Various foundations are being approached for the purpose of funding one or more Southern groups to investigate and litigate consumer and environmental issues and to monitor public and private institutions to determine their responsiveness to their real constituency -- the people. Other avenues of financing are also being



explored. Considerable thought is being given to structuring the groups in ways that will minimize their vulnerability to political and other forms of pressure. And perhaps most important, care is being taken to assure that instead of distracting us from the problems of race and poverty, the public interest move-

ment will forge new and powerful coalitions to attack their root causes.

-----Ronald S. Borod and  
W. J. Michael Cody

*Note: Those who may be interested in knowing more about or participating in the formation of a public interest law*

*institution in the South should contact Mike Cody or Charles Newman, 100 N. Main Building, Memphis, Tennessee 38103, (901) 523-2311, or Ron Borod, 1115 Union Planters Building, Memphis, Tennessee 38103, (901) 525-6361.*

## Society Chapters

With the establishment of five new Lamar Society chapters since the beginning of the year, the Society's membership will soon number more than 500. In addition to the Jackson, Mississippi, chapter, which was organized in September, the Society now has chapters in Alabama, East Tennessee, New Orleans, West Tennessee, and North Carolina. Chapter organizational meetings are scheduled for Columbia, South Carolina, on May 5, and Dallas, Texas, in early June. Below are summaries of the chapter activities to date.

**Alabama.** The Alabama chapter of the Lamar Society, which came into existence in Birmingham on the evening of January 8, was organized by Brandy Ayers, editor and publisher of the *Anniston Star*; Dr. David Mathews, President of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa; and Dr. Joe Volker, President of the University of Alabama at Birmingham. At the meeting, attended by nearly 100 Alabamians from throughout the state, Julian Butler, an attorney from Huntsville, was elected chairman of the steering committee for the Alabama chapter. Under the leadership of Dr. Volker, a number of the members of the Alabama chapter are exploring the feasibility of developing a public affairs research institution for Alabama patterned after PAR in Louisiana and the Institute of Government in North Carolina.

**East Tennessee.** On February 5 at the Andrew Johnson Hotel in Knoxville a large delegation of East Tennesseans responded to Frank Smith's invitation to a combination get-acquainted and chapter organizational meeting. Gordon Bonnyman, a law student at the University of Tennessee, was instrumental in achieving substantial student representation from the University of Tennessee, whose President, Dr. Edward J. Boling, is also a member of the Lamar Society. Mr. Smith has appointed Charles Surano as chairman of a steering committee to develop the program for the East Tennessee chapter.

**New Orleans.** Tulane University was the site of the March 18th organizational meeting of the New Orleans chapter of the Society. Larry Eustis, Jim Chubbuck, and Charlie Ferguson assumed the leadership role for this meeting.

**West Tennessee.** The West Tennessee chapter of the Society was organized on March 20 by Ed Stewart, A. P. Perkinson, Jr., and Harold Whalum. Guests and members of the Society came from Memphis, Nashville, throughout the western part of Tennessee, and from eastern Arkansas.

**North Carolina.** The Quail Roost Conference Center near Durham was the setting for the first meeting of the North Carolina chapter. Gerry Hancock, chairman of the North Carolina steering committee, was in charge of the arrangements for this meeting, which was held in conjunction with a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society. Duke University Chancellor Ken Pye, a Lamar Society member, was the featured speaker. His topic was "The Role of Public Interest Law Firms in the South." Mercer M. Doty, Director of the State Government Reorganization Study, also discussed possible roles which the Society might play in the reorganizational effort of the state of North Carolina. George Autry presented some specific proposals for the Society to consider in the area of manpower development.

# Southern Journal

VOL. 1, NO. 2

APRIL 1971

Editor: James H. Chubbuck

Contributing Editors: Ed Williams, Charles Ferguson,  
Brandt Ayers, Mike Cody, Tom Naylor

Southern Journal is a publication of the L.Q.C. Lamar Society, a non-profit, tax exempt educational organization composed of Southerners committed to bringing constructive change in the South. It was formed in 1969 by individuals of diverse background and political persuasion. The common bond among its members is a desire to see the South reach its full potential.

The views expressed are those of the individual authors, and not of the Lamar Society. The Journal is being published by the Society as part of its objective to create greater communication and dialogue on events and subjects of importance in the South.

Editorial Office: Box 119, Loyola University  
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

## contributors

Ronald Borod and Michael Cody are Memphis attorneys. Cody currently is president of the Lamar Society, and is spearheading the effort to establish public interest firms in the South.

Ralph Eisenberg is a professor of government at the University of Virginia. He has done considerable research and writing on Virginia politics and government. He contributed to a forthcoming book analyzing, state by state, Southern Politics since 1948.

Kaye Northcott is editor of the *Texas Observer*, a weekly journal that has had considerable impact in Texas. She has written extensively about events at the University of Texas under Frank Erwin.

R. L. Avinger and R. R. Kincaid are members of the Department of Economics at Davidson College, North Carolina.

## cover

Southern Governors appearing on the cover are: Reubin O'Donovan Askew, Florida; Dale Bumpers, Arkansas; Jimmy Carter, Georgia; Winfield Dunn, Tennessee; Linwood Holton, Virginia (photo by Dementi Studio); John C. West, South Carolina (photo by Fabian Bachrach); and Winthrop Rockefeller, Arkansas.

**Mississippi.** State government reorganization has emerged as one of the top priority items for the Jackson chapter. Bob Killelea, chairman of the Jackson steering committee, has been working with a group of Mississippians including Reuben Anderson, State Representative Walter Brown, Clifton Hodge, Dr. Tom Stevens, and Ed Williams, to provide a public forum to discuss and evaluate the state government reorganization study which was recently completed for Governor John Bell Williams.

# HIGHER POLITICS IN TEXAS

One of the most tumultuous chapters in the history of the University of Texas ended March 12 when Frank C. Erwin, Jr., stepped down as chairman of the University of Texas Board of Regents. Erwin's friends, powerful Texas Democrats who controlled Texas, and the nation as well, during most of the sixties, held a formal dinner to thank him for what he has done for the University.

Former President Lyndon Johnson predicted, "When all the angry voices fall silent, people of this state will recognize that the University of Texas has never had an advocate equal to Frank Erwin."

Erwin's successor as regents' chairman, John Peace, backed up Johnson's assessment of what they both called "The Erwin Era." Peace said that at the university's seventeen component institutions, student enrollment has increased 42% - from 47,000 to 67,000 students -- during Erwin's five-year tenure as chairman. By 1980, Peace said proudly, the U.T. system will have a mind-boggling 132,000 students.

Legislative appropriations during "The Erwin Era" rose 111%, from \$55 million to \$117 million, Peace said. Private gifts quadrupled partially because of Erwin's popularity among ex-students and partially because the University's football team, of which Erwin is notoriously proud, twice won the national title.

Peace mentioned the buildings that rose during Erwin's years, especially noting the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and School of Public Affairs.

And, Peace added, "The University has passed through those five years without a major disruption."

Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes spoke for the Texas Legislature when he said, "Although Frank has been controversial, I think he has represented the views of the majority of the taxpayers that the administration and the Board of Regents should run the university .... Frank Erwin has given discipline in an era of permissiveness."

While Erwin and friends were inside Austin's Municipal Auditorium toasting the end of the era with wine and

champagne and shrimp and Walter Jetan's 16-ounce steaks, students were standing outside (in a hail storm, no less) feebly demonstrating that not everyone considered Erwin's reign a benevolent one. Even in Texas, there is a significant minority that no longer accepts the litany that progress means bigness and bestness--more buildings, more students and a football team that can successfully maim every other football team in the United States.

Lyndon Johnson's new library and school were built as part of an urban renewal project, not too fondly known as "Erwin Renewal". Some of the last cheap houses and apartments for students and the poor blacks and browns of East Austin were torn down to build the giant Johnson complex. Meanwhile enrollment grows unhindered each year and students, for the most part, are forced to live in tackily built high rises with equally high rent rates. (Frank Erwin's law firm, by the way, represents some of the biggest landlords in the campus area.)

Erwin has raised money from both the Legislature and private donations by presenting an image of a university where football is still king and student protest is orchestrated from the Kremlin.

The former chairman drives a Cadillac convertible specially painted in the school colors of burnt orange and white. During the past five years he personally supervised the distribution of complimentary football tickets. "When I first read of Frank's leaving the administration, I wondered where I was going to get my football tickets," Johnson said at the farewell dinner.

During "The Erwin Era", the football stadium was expanded at the expense of a stand of fine oak trees and a portion of Waller Creek, which was re-directed and cemented over. The creek and the trees could have been saved by building the new bleachers on the east rather than the west side of the stadium, but then the afternoon sun would have been in spectators' eyes. Many students seemed to think that the creek which they enjoyed every day was more important than a few new football seats for alumni to sit in once every two weeks during football season. Before the bulldozers could topple the trees and dig up

the creek, Erwin personally directed the police in hauling students out of the trees and off to jail. "Arrest all the people you have to. Once the trees are down, they won't have anything to protest," the chairman told the cops.

Erwin belonged to the hard hat school of college administrators. During the latter part of the 'sixties, while students were taking over buildings on other campuses, Erwin was taking over everything at the University of Texas. If students and faculty didn't like what was happening, state legislators and wealthy alums did. It was the latter's approval Erwin was after, for they have the money, and money is what higher education is all about as far as Frank Erwin is concerned.

"Authority comes from the top," Erwin explained to a group of editors in January. "There is no such thing as faculty autonomy at a state university." And students? "The university should not be made to suffer for what a few students think," he said. "Students have no more morals than figs."

There was rarely a time during Erwin's five-year rule when he was not involved in some sort of serious squabble with either students, faculty or administrators. He and *The Daily Texan*, the student newspaper, never hit it off very well. When he was appointed to the Board of Regents by Governor John Connally, Erwin was National Democratic Committeeman from Texas. The *Texan* was quick to ask if there wasn't a conflict of interest in Erwin's two roles. Erwin didn't think so, because, as he put it, "The University of Texas is Lyndon Johnson's university."

When President Johnson authorized the bombing of North Vietnam, the *Texan* suggested the war might not be such a good idea. Erwin charged that leftist editorials had lost the university a million-dollar gift, and he threatened to do away with the editorial page altogether. He may have succeeded in destroying the *Texan*. This spring the paper's fifty-year charter runs out, and under Erwin's urging, the outstanding student newspaper may be reduced to a faculty-run journalism laboratory.

Erwin has always hated longhairs. "dirty nothin's," as he calls them. In one of the more volatile incidents during his chairmanship, he had all non-students banned from the Chuck Wagon, a popu-



lar university snack bar. When students held a protest inside the Chuck Wagon, Erwin had police and Department of Public Safety officers march on the building with mace and tear gas. Twenty-two young people were arrested for "rioting." Most of the charges were dropped because of insufficient evidence, but not before the students and non-students had forked over money for bail and lawyers' fees. To this day, student id's are checked at the door of the Chuck Wagon.

During the last year, there has been a major exodus of top administrators and scholars from the Austin campus and Erwin has installed his own administrators in their stead. Chancellor Harry Ransom took an early retirement and was replaced by one of Erwin's cronies, Dr. Charles Lemaistre. (Lemaistre is an M.D. rather than a Ph. D.) U.T.-Austin President Norman Hackerman, who resigned to become president of Rice University, is being replaced by Dr. Steven Spurr of the University of Michigan. Spurr was hand-picked by Erwin and Lemaistre. A faculty committee had recommended for the presidency either Arts and Sciences Dean John Silber or Law School Dean Paige Keeton.

Erwin fired Silber, one of the school's top scholars, and top administrators, last summer. At the same time, over the vigorous opposition of the majority of the Arts and Sciences faculty, he divided the large liberal arts college into three parts. A professor who was present when Erwin canned Silber quoted Erwin as saying, "John, you are intelligent, articulate and hard working. Because of these qualities you scare the hell out of some people in the higher echelons of the administration.... This is why you must resign or be removed." Silber is now president of

Boston University.

Six of the university's top professors have resigned in the wake of Silber's firing. Dr. William Arrowsmith, known world-wide for his translations of Aristophanes, quit in December, chagring: "The faculty is powerless; the students are powerless; and the other eight regents are apparently passive puppets of Erwin....In no case was the coarse brutality of Erwin's tyranny more sickening than in the preemptory and unexplained dismissal of John Silber....A university of 40,000 students and several thousand faculty and staff has become, through political chicanery and abusive power, the personal property of one man."

Erwin published a reply to Arrowsmith that has become the basis for his response to all the resignations that have followed. Erwin maintained (quite inaccurately) that Arrowsmith was receiving a high salary while carrying a light teaching load, an argument sure to find sympathy among the state's taxpayers. "Apparently when Arrowsmith learned that his lucrative playhouse had been exposed, he chose to find another job rather than assume his fair share of the teaching load," Erwin wrote. (The "lucrative playhouse" charge has since been turned back on the administration. In February, the *Texan* revealed that the rebuilding of the chancellor's mansion to date has cost \$906,000. University authorities had been quoting figures in the neighborhood of \$200,000. A State Senate committee is investigating, and now the administration is saying the residence cost around a million dollars but that \$600,000 of that money is coming from an anonymous grant.)

Dr. Robert K. Selander of the Zoology Department, Dr. D. S. Karner-Ross of Classics, Dr. Richard M. Zaner of Philosophy, Roger Shattuck, chair-

man of the Department of French and Italian, and Dr. Thomas Gould of Classics all have resigned. Gould, who resigned in February, said he would not be moving on to Yale "had it not been for the firing of Dean Silber, the villification of my colleagues by the chairman of the regents, the dismantling of the college, the mutilation and disenfranchisement of the faculty and students, financial niggardliness, deference to politicians, and unimaginative bureaucratic thinking."

On the day Erwin stepped down, the *Texan* editor wrote that he "will remember Erwin as one dedicated, to the extent of blindness, to his own self-interests and one who accomplished much on their behalf."

No matter what one thinks of the chairman's accomplishments, one has to acknowledge that he did accomplish much. And "The Erwin Era" is not really over, for his hand-picked administrators will rule the University of Texas for years to come. He remains on the Board of Regents and the new chairman was his personal choice for the post.

Erwin's years as chairman of the U.T. Regents demonstrated quite dramatically the profound differences between what legislators and taxpayers and students and faculty consider best for a state university. Erwin invariably sided with the state's conservative taxpayers who want a quiet, orderly factory of learning, run from the top. He made no attempt to act as mediator in a dialogue between the academics and the public. Instead, he played one against the other.

So, thanks to "The Erwin Era", the University of Texas remains a sprawling, rich, state university with a lot of new buildings, an enrollment reaching crisis proportions and a severely damaged reputation as a citadel of higher learning.

-- Kaye Northcott

# The Textile Industry in the South: free trade or protectionism?

Free traders, among whom are most economists, won the legislative battle over import quotas last December, but protectionist forces refuse to concede the war: the 1970 trade bill has been re-introduced in only slightly modified form, and Southern textile men and Congressmen continue to press for an exporter-imposed quota, a so-called "voluntary" quota.

Imports currently account for somewhat less than ten percent of domestic consumption of textile products, but this percentage is growing. The

divergence in growth rates between imports and total consumption leads to firm and plant failures and unemployment of textile workers.

The problem is particularly acute in the South where the textile industry provides a major source of employment in the states of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. (In 1967 there were 926,300 employees in the U. S. textile industry, of whom 639,300 or 69 per cent lived in the South.) The proper long-term posture for the South and the nation is free trade. The short-

term solution to the problem of import competition should include an easing of the transitional burdens placed on the few who suffer from free trade.

Statements that emphasize the differences between the wage rates received by Southern textile workers and foreign workers in order to illustrate some "unfair" competition with foreign producers are misleading. Although Japanese and Korean textile workers are paid less, the Southern textile worker is more productive than his foreign counterpart. He has more capital with which

to work, and we should expect his wage to be higher. Southern textile workers may not be sufficiently more productive to offset the higher wage rate, but there are many Southern industries in which workers are; these industries will expand with free trade.

The benefits of free trade are lower prices for clothes and other textile articles for all Southerners and increased job opportunities in exporting industries as countries in the Far East buy more from us with the money received from the sale of their textiles here. But free trade does not come without certain costs and these should be considered. First, moving resources from one industry to another imposes relocation, retraining, and unemployment costs on someone-workers, employers, or taxpayers. Second, the closing of Southern textile mills in one-firm towns will probably cause migration to cities, thereby adding to urban problems. Further, there are the secondary effects on other commercial enterprises in these small towns. Finally the textile industry hires many high-absentee, short-tenure workers who might otherwise be unemployed.

However, the textile industry has overstated the cost of free trade. The industry claims that 90,000 people have been "thrown out of work because of cheap foreign labor." But much, perhaps most, of the unemployment is due to other factors such as the current recession and automation in the industry. It is misleading for industry spokesmen to blame only import competition. On the other hand, there is some amount of unemployment in the industry rightly attributable to import competition, and this unemployment leads to social costs.

But the costs of free trade do not approach the magnitude of the benefits. The costs arise from relocation and retraining and from the idling of productive resources for a relatively short period of time. The benefits -- greater output and lower prices -- are long-term and are enjoyed by all consumers of textiles while the costs are relatively short-term. The government can make the cost-benefit ratio even more favorable by providing transitional aid to the industry.

The bill that died in the last Congress and which has been re-introduced this year is not the way to help the Southern textile industry. Far from being the benign nudge to our trading partners that the industry says it is, the bill is an unfortunate piece of legislation riding a tide of resentment and misunderstanding in Congress, particularly on the part of Southern Congressmen.

The major problem with the bill is that it sets limits on the quantities of a broad range of goods that could be imported into the United States. Under any such quota arrangement, the govern-

ment distributes valuable import licenses to a few importers with the possibilities of underhanded dealings arising in the allocation. Additionally, quotas insure a massive injection of federal bureaucracy into previously free markets because they substitute the visible hand of government intervention for the invisible hand of supply and demand forces.

A second problem with a legislated quota is that it encourages our trading partners to retaliate by restricting their imports from the United States. The South has a large stake in preserving U.S. export markets. Southerners have traditionally exported large quantities of agricultural products. For example, in the year ended June 30, 1969, soybean exports from the twelve Southern states were \$213 million and tobacco exports were \$468 million. Southern states also export large quantities of manufactured goods. In 1966 these totalled \$4,498 million, or 21 percent of all U. S. exports of manufactured products. Protection of the Southern textile industry will unquestionably come at the expense of Southern exporting industries since foreigners will retaliate against any quota legislation passed by Congress. Given the emerging strength of Southern exporting industries, it is thus questionable whether, even in the short-run the South would on net benefit by protecting textiles.

A rational solution to the problem of import competition must not, therefore, include legislated quotas; equally important, it should not include voluntary quotas that limit several of our purchases from abroad. Most of the supporters of the trade bill view it as a lever to get Japan and other governments in the Far East to impose quotas on their exports to the U. S. Japan recently offered such a proposal. The administration rejected the offer and has called for legislated quotas. President Nixon is committed to protection for textiles only and is opposed to the non-textile provision of the Mills bill.

The best way to ease the burdens placed on the few by free trade is a temporary tariff combined with adjustment assistance. A tariff lasting for, say, five years and diminishing throughout the period would allow those productive resources that are displaced by free trade some time to find alternative employment. Tariffs are decidedly superior to quotas in at least two respects: they give the extra revenue to the government rather than to a few importers, and they allow market rather than political forces to ration the supply of the imported article. Imposition of a temporary tariff would probably require legislative action, a process fraught with risks. Logrolling could easily produce a bill closely resembling the Mills bill. If this possibility can be guarded against, the tariff can become an attractive way to

help the people who will be injured by free trade. Congress can also help through adjustment assistance in the form of grants, loans, and tax breaks for firms and employees who wish to relocate, retrain or transfer their capital or labor to other product lines.

The South's short-run strategy, based on its own self interest, might be to restrict textile imports. But the crucial question concerns the continued domination by the textile industry in providing such a substantial share of employment in the South. Can the South increase the economic opportunities for its citizens when so many are locked into an occupational structure that requires low skills and pays low wages and that is at a comparative disadvantage with foreign sources of supply? The answer seems obvious.

The intended short-run beneficiaries of the Mills bill may in the future become its victims. An industry that is viable only through extensive and continuing trade restrictions will become subject to political football games; both national and international politics will be a major factor in its future. They may be protected today, but perhaps not tomorrow.

Even if a portion of the Southern textile industry withers and dies, proper training can upgrade the skill levels of the Southern worker and proper management decisions can lead firms to diversify into other product lines. With these changes, the economic strength of the South will be vastly improved. Its industries and its workers will become more viable in a shrinking world.

In summary, Southern Congressmen should reconsider their myopic support for protection of a relatively small special interest group at the expense of the rest of the South, the nation, and even the world.

---- R. L. Avinger  
and  
R. R. Kincaid

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

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# Virginia's New Look Governor:

With the current attention upon the crop of new governors in the South in 1971, Virginia offers an opportunity to assess the kind of impact its new look Governor, Linwood Holton, elected in 1969, has had in his first fourteen months in office.

Holton's election and his first year in office have marked significant departures from Virginia's past, especially from historic symbols of the state's political history and governmental style. Linwood Holton's election as a Republican was notable in and of itself but it may also represent the maturity of the Virginia Republican Party. So far, the Holton Administration seems to be attempting to construct a moderate and broad based Republican State Party. How successful the effort will be ultimately remains to be seen, but it already has altered substantially the traditional behavior of Virginia's chief executives.

Although Holton's victory was partially attributable to severe schisms within Virginia's Democratic Party between liberals and conservatives of the old Byrd Organization, with moderates hopelessly caught in the middle, his election capped the gradual improvement in Republican fortunes since 1952. From then through 1968, Republican candidates carried Virginia in every Presidential election with the exception of 1964. By 1969, the Republicans had captured half of the state's ten Congressional seats (and added a sixth in 1970) and had won 20 per cent of the seats in the state legislature, a small but impressive figure in the context of the historically one-party organization-dominated state. Beyond its party significance, Holton's victory was important for the ingredients of his electoral majority. While he benefitted from conservative Democratic defections, Holton fashioned his statewide majority by winning broad support among Virginia's city and suburban voters. Especially impressive were his inroads into the normally Democratic majorities in cities, which resulted from the labor and particularly black votes he won. (Both labor and black political leaders had endorsed the Holton candidacy, proclaiming that the Democratic candidate was really heir to the Byrd tradition, a charge difficult to sustain but of considerable impact in the election.)

## style and image in the developing South

Virginia's black voters, who in other recent elections, regularly cast 90 to 98 per cent of their votes for Democratic candidates, cast almost 40 per cent of their votes for Holton in 1969 and thus deprived the Democrats of a vital part of their state-wide electoral base. The black votes were responsible for the majority of central city votes that the Republicans won in the gubernatorial contest. Significantly, the Democratic candidates for Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General, who were elected, won large majorities in the central cities, and the usual 90 per cent plus majorities in predominantly black precincts. Holton's suburban majorities exceeded his central city support but they also surpassed previous Republican suburban totals. In short, Holton's broad based triumph was constructed upon the votes of urban Virginia, both suburban and central city, and embraced a vast spectrum of voters from conservative to liberal. His strategy was decisive because it appealed to urban areas where almost 60 per cent of the state's votes were cast. While such a broad based strategem for victory had been applied by the Democrats for their 1965 victory, it was a new and effective approach for Holton and Republicans in 1969.

As Governor, Holton has had to contend with a Democratic state legislature and two Democratic state officials, the Lieutenant Governor and the Attorney General. In addition, the two legislative sessions which have met since he took office have not afforded him the opportunity to make a significant impact upon legislative policy as yet. The budget he presented to the first session, not untypically, was largely that prepared by his Democratic predecessor. No distinctive Holton touch can be ascribed to it. The second legislative session was held early this year to implement the extensive revisions to the State Constitution approved at a referendum in November, 1970, and to redistrict legislative and Congressional seats. Little else was addressed by that session and the Governor exerted little leadership on these matters. Although Governor Holton worked for the adoption of the constitutional revisions, they had been initiated before he took office and already guided through the first of the two legislative sessions required for their

submission to the electorate. Thus, Holton's legislative scorecard remains to be filled. Instead, his impact on Virginia to this time is found elsewhere, outside of statute books and appropriations measures, and beyond the arenas of direct confrontations with his Democratic fellow officeholders.

Linwood Holton's new look Governorship is apparent in two key areas, both deriving from the administrative and political leadership he has provided in his role as Virginia's chief executive. The new look is found in the style of the Holton Administration and in its approach to race relations. In both areas, Governor Holton's behavior has projected a far different image than restrained Democratic Governors have had.

From the time he first assumed the office, Linwood Holton brought an informality and an openness to the office of Governor that it lacked before. By nature an outgoing, friendly, enthusiastic, and almost exuberant man, with a keen and infectious sense of humor, Holton brought some of these qualities to the state's highest office. From the first, he admitted that he found the office to be fun, an attitude he apparently continues to have. Recruiting a new personal staff, he brought into the immediacy of the Governor's office a group of young men and women whose informal demeanor, style, and candor contrasted sharply with the austerity, severity, and closed character of previous older gubernatorial staffs. The Governor's staff offices have been open, and newsmen and others have felt free to drop in for information or to talk things over with staff aides. Similar access by telephone has existed and these conditions are in large part responsible for the image of openness that characterizes the Holton Administration. Youth, and not experience, marked the Holton staff from the beginning; yet they all have displayed a strong interest in and dedication to learning about the state's government, its problems, and possible solutions.

The style change brought about by Governor Holton is evident beyond his immediate office, however, in the kinds of appointments he has made to state offices, commissions, and boards. Virginia's Governor is considered one of the nation's most powerful state executives but the full scope of his powers was

seldom felt in Democratic Administrations. Few department heads were turned out upon the accession of a new Governor because they were known and respected by all of the state's political leaders (some often worked closely with the Byrd Organization) and more importantly, they played roles merely as administrative managers of their departments. Many had worked their ways through agency hierarchies to achieve leadership positions, but management and not policy innovation seemed to be their primary tasks. With Holton's election, partisan continuity was interrupted and the prospects for considerable turnover were evident. Although there still has not been a very widespread turnover, Governor Holton has made key new appointments and reshuffled other posts to an extent not usual in Virginia. The Holton appointees generally have been young. The Governor brought in young men from outside of the state to head the Department of Taxation, the Department of Planning and Community Affairs, and the Division of Motor Vehicles. From inside the state, he filled the offices of State Treasurer, Secretary of the Commonwealth, and Budget Director, among others. But many incumbent agency heads were retained or promoted, as in the cases of the Highway Commissioner, the Conservation Commissioner, and the Commissioner of Administration. The greatest impact of Holton appointments was evident in persons named to the wide variety of state boards and commissions. His appointees to these positions have been young and generally knowledgeable.

However, the new style of the Administration was obvious in the accessibility of agency personnel generally who seemed to take their cues from the Governor himself and his immediate aides. It is clear that this stylistic break with the severe, quiet, and closed nature of past administrations was strange, and perhaps a little disquieting, to Virginians accustomed to the austere dignity of state government. But the openness and access of the state government already has proved its usefulness in contacts with universities and students in the crises of last spring, interaction among state officials generally, and with citizens who have managed to secure hearings that were, or would have been, denied in the past.

In race relations, Governor Holton's impact upon the state has been even greater. In his inaugural address in January, 1970, he had declared:

"Here in Virginia we must see that no citizen of the Commonwealth is excluded from full participation in both the blessings and responsibilities of our society because of his race . . . .

"As Virginia has been a model for so much else in America in the

past, let us now endeavor to make today's Virginia a model in race relations."

Governor Holton's actions to fulfill this pledge were immediate and continuing. One of his first acts as Governor was to appoint a black man as a special aide with responsibility for minority affairs. This special assistant has served as the focal point for the Administration's efforts to bring black Virginians into full participation in state Government. A series of "Governor's Conferences" was launched early in the Administration to explore employment opportunities for minority and disadvantaged groups in both public and private sectors in the state. The effort put the weight of the Governor's Office and the prestige of the Governor's leadership behind positive moves to rectify past injustices to black citizens. To date, the program appears to have had considerable success. Pushing earlier gubernatorial nondiscrimination directives harder and actively recruiting black persons into state government service produced more black personnel in state agencies, particularly in professional and administrative positions. The State Police was a special target for effective recruitment of black personnel. These endeavors were aided by the Governor's appointments of black citizens to positions they never before held in Virginia. Holton appointed black men to key positions as the Director of the State's Selective Service System and as coordinator of youth opportunity for the state. But beyond these, blacks were appointed to many of the state's numerous boards and commissions, including those of some of Virginia's predominantly white universities, agency boards, and professional boards. These appointments made Holton's commitments to Virginia minority groups credible and made the black man visible as an active participant in Virginia government. Most importantly, these efforts have not slackened since the initial commitments were voiced and undertaken; instead their pace has been maintained.

The Holton image in race relations was further served by the Governor himself accompanying his young daughter at the beginning of the fall term to a predominantly black public high school in Richmond amid the clamor of white hostility at newly required busing programs. The photograph of Holton and his daughter was widely distributed in Virginia, nationally, and internationally, and it symbolized the image of the new Virginia Governor that he represents. At the same time, Governor Holton resisted efforts to involve the state in litigation at the Federal District Court level in opposition to busing decrees of the courts. His refusal to be stamped into such a course, while costing him conservative political support, served as a model for moderate responses to such

problems by state leadership and further secured his image and sincerity in seeking to make the state "a model in race relations." The contrast with the Virginia of the defiant "massive resistance" era was dramatic.

But although Governor Holton has provided a new kind of leadership in race relations and in the style of governing, the political effects of such behavior remain unclear. Whether his new style Governorship will benefit his party in the near future or not is far from settled. Holton has suffered some political setbacks in office. He succeeded in convincing the Republican Party to run a candidate for the U. S. Senate against incumbent Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., who ran as an Independent in 1970. But that victory over conservatives in his party, who wanted the Republicans to nominate no one to oppose Byrd, was soured by Byrd's subsequent reelection by a majority of votes in the three-way contest and the failure of the Republicans to poll even 20 per cent of the statewide vote. Byrd, as an Independent, drew many normally Republican votes in winning reelection. Political observers in Virginia credited the busing controversy and Holton's stand in it for part of the dimensions of Byrd's victory and the poor Republican showing. That Senate campaign and the failure of the White House to endorse the Republican Senate candidate in Virginia damaged somewhat the Holton image as State Republican leader. Busing controversies still going on have cooled some of his conservative support. As long as the chaotic conditions of Virginia politics continue to exist, how Governor Holton's moderate Republicanism will affect his party's stands on issues and its future success after his term is over will remain unclear. Continued strife among Democrats, Senator Byrd's successful independent candidacy, the conservative-moderate conflict among Republicans, and the persistence of the school busing issue all make projections hazardous.

What is apparent in the midst of contemporary political turmoil is the effect upon state government that vigorous gubernatorial leadership can have. Holton's ability to transmit a new image of the Governorship to the state and nation, and of Virginia to its own people and to the nation demonstrates the potential of the gubernatorial office. The present open quality of Virginia government and the recognition of black Virginians as rightful parts of Virginia's government will be enduring contributions of Linwood Holton, regardless of his fate as legislative policy leader. As chief executive, he has already produced a style and an image of the Commonwealth quite distinctive from its twentieth century history.

-----Ralph Eisenberg